

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

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Semantic maps: Where do we stand and where are we going?  
Liège, 26th-28th of June 2018

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Even if only a small portion of semantic map research has tried to integrate the diachronic dimension so far, these efforts turn out to be crucial from a methodological point of view (Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018)

→ “the best synchronic semantic map is a diachronic one” (van der Auwera, 2008: 43)

diachronic semantic maps “allow one to explain exceptions to the connectivity hypothesis” → connectivity hypothesis: “any relevant language-specific and construction-specific category should map onto a CONNECTED REGION in conceptual space” (Croft, 2001: 96)

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## Violations of the connectivity hypothesis

- ◉ Homonyms
- ◉ dynamicized semantic maps, given their capacity to integrate the diachronic dimension, make it possible to explain the lack of connectedness between the meanings of a given linguistic forms in synchrony if (and only if) these meanings derive from a common “ancestor,” namely, a meaning previously expressed by the same form.
- ◉ language contact situations, two types of exceptions to the connectivity hypothesis have been noticed in the literature. First, several scholars observed that areal factors possibly lead to the extension of the meaning of a linguistic form in a given language based on the meaning of a similar expression in a (prestigious) neighboring language
- ◉ the polysemy network of the adpositions in the donor language is not borrowed as a whole

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“The classical “connectivity” maps ... predict that “a category can acquire a new function only if that function is adjacent on the semantic map to some function that the category already covers” (Haspelmath 1997: 129).

“Conceptual and historical factors support the connectivity hypothesis. In practical terms, this means that polysemous linguistic items are decisive when plotting a map. Indeed, they are the ones that will be mapped onto two (or more) nodes, and they indicate thereby which nodes should be connected: by virtue of the connectivity hypothesis, they must cover a connected region in the semantic map.” (Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018: 6)

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Figure 1 (Haspelmath 2003: 213)

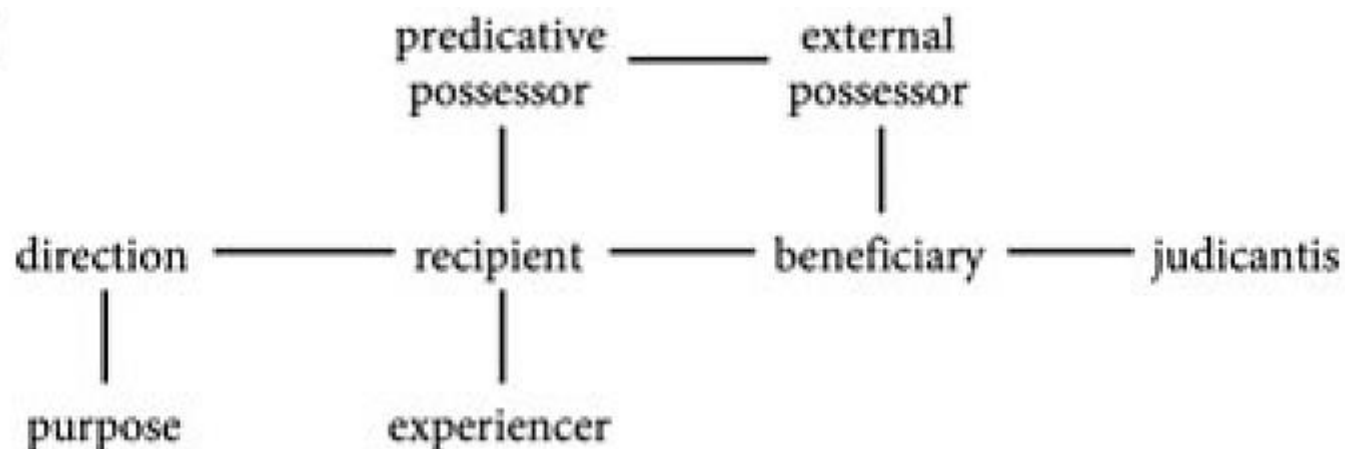


Figure 1a predicts that, if a linguistic item expresses ... these two meanings [sc. “purpose” and “direction”] and an additional one, it should necessarily be “recipient,” because it is the only meaning directly connected to “purpose-direction.” (Georgakopoulos and Polis 2018: 2-3)

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## English for (OEG)

- ◉ In support of or in favour of (a person or policy)

*‘troops who had fought for Napoleon’*

*‘they voted for independence in a referendum’*

- ◉ On behalf of or to the benefit of.

*‘I got a present for you’*

*‘these parents aren't speaking for everyone’*

- ◉ Having (the thing mentioned) as a purpose or function.

*‘networks for the exchange of information’*

*‘the necessary tools for making a picture frame’*

- ◉ Having (the place mentioned) as a destination.

*‘they are leaving for London tomorrow’*

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## French *pour* (Larousse)

- ◉ Le lieu où l'on va :

*Partir pour Paris.*

- ◉ Le but :

*La lutte pour le pouvoir.*

- ◉ Le bénéficiaire :

*Travailler pour un patron.*

- ◉ La personne ou la chose dans l'intérêt de qui ou au profit de quoi est fait quelque chose :

*Se battre pour une noble cause.*

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Rice and Kabata (2007) list *for* among prepositions that instantiate the common Direction-Purpose polysemy which, as the authors point out, is based on the metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS → Direction is the source for semantic extension

BUT: Bosworth and Toller (1898/1921)

Old English *for*:

- Purpose
- Cause
- Exchange
- Beneficiary

→ it did not indicate Direction



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Latin *pro*.

Cognate of English *for*, preserved the spatial meaning ‘before’, ‘in front of’ inherited from Proto-Indo-European only sporadically in Early Latin (Leumann and Hofmann 1965: 270).

Early Latin: Most frequent meaning Exchange; Beneficiary (especially behalf type)

Classical Latin: Reason

Late Latin: Cause

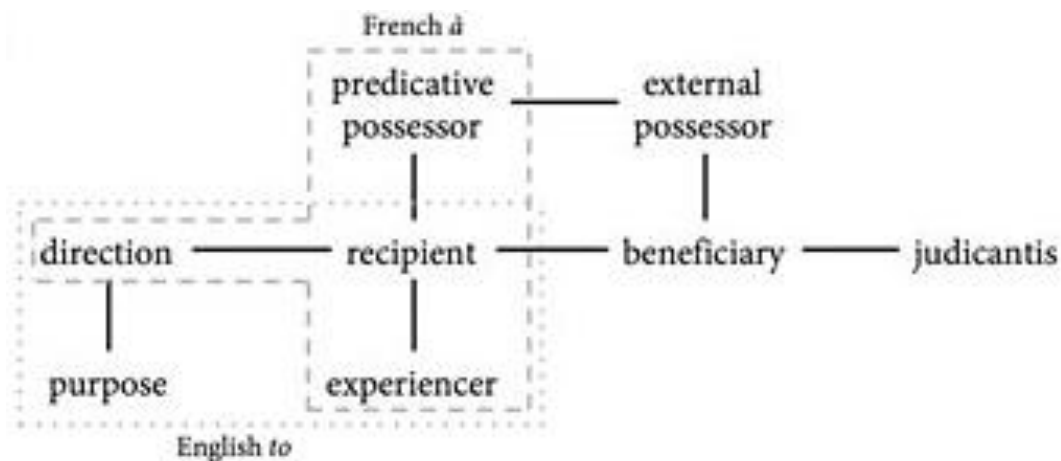
Early French: Purpose

*Le Bon Usage* Grevisse (1993: 485) «Depuis le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, on peut indiquer aussi la destination qui est introduite par *pour*: “Je pars demain **pour** ma Bourgogne” (Sév., 10 octobre 1673) – “Je pars demain **pour** Londres qui est le lieu du monde où le peuple est le plus méchant” (Richelet, 1680)».

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## ‘Well behaved’ prepositions

Figure 2. English to / French à (Haspelmath 2003)



(French à also indicates Beneficiary and to a limited extent Purpose: *Jean a acheté des jolies fleurs à Marie* / *La salle à manger*)

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## Space as a source domain

- ◉ Old English *tó*

Direction / Location (mostly nearby)

- ◉ Latin *ad*

Direction / Location nearby

- ◉ Old English *for* and Latin *pro* < PIE *\*pro* ‘in front of’ (Location)

→ Earliest common meaning extension: ‘in exchange for’

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## Chain of increasing grammaticalization

Heine et al. (1991: 160)

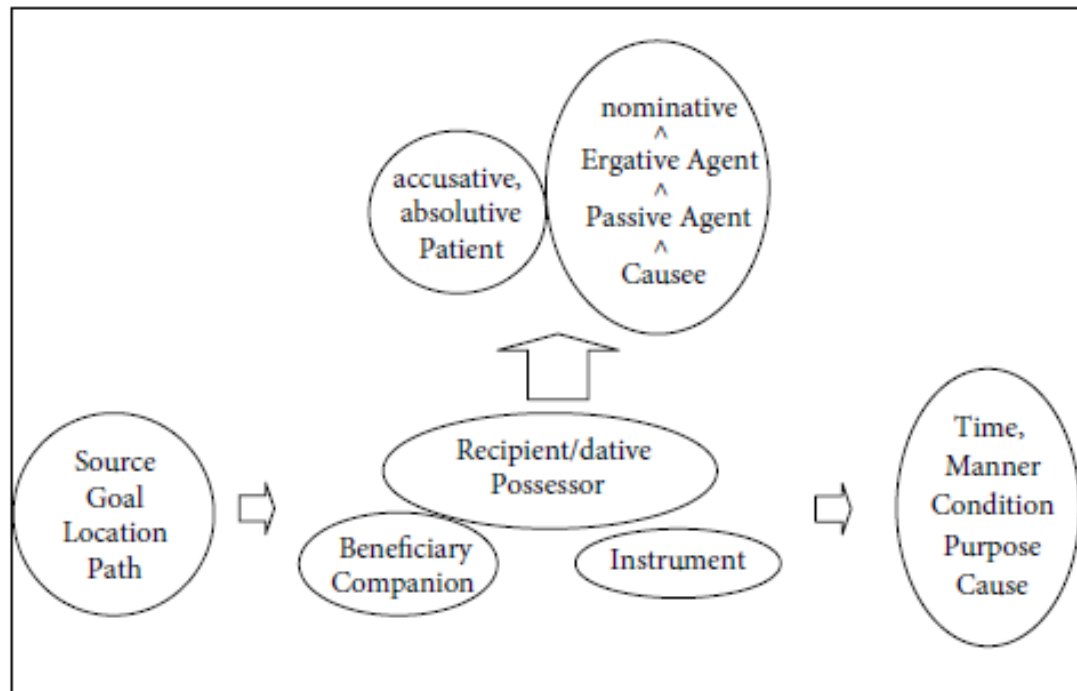
**spatial relation > human relation > inanimate relation**

FIGURE 3. CHAIN OF INCREASING GRAMMATICALIZATION (from Heine et al. 1991: 159)

ABLATIVE	AGENT	PURPOSE				
ALLATIVE >	COMITIVE >	INSTRUMENT >	TIME >	CONDITION >	MANNER	
LOCATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	DATIVE		CAUSE		
PATH		POSSESSIVE				

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Figure 4. Map of increasing grammaticalization (Narrog 2014: 89)



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Figure 5 (Croft 2012: 225)

*Space*  $\Rightarrow$  *Causation metaphor*:

<i>Causation:</i>	antecedent role	Object	subsequent role
	$\uparrow$	$\uparrow$	$\uparrow$
<i>Space:</i>	ablative/source	locative	allative/goal

Figure 6 – Motion Event

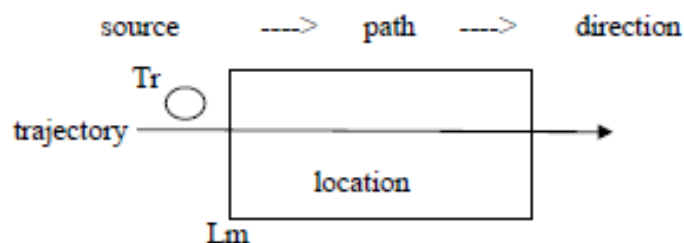
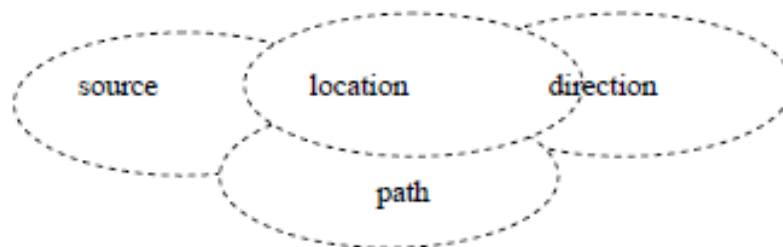


Fig. 7 – The conceptual domain of space (Luraghi 2014)



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Figure 8. (Croft 2012: 280)

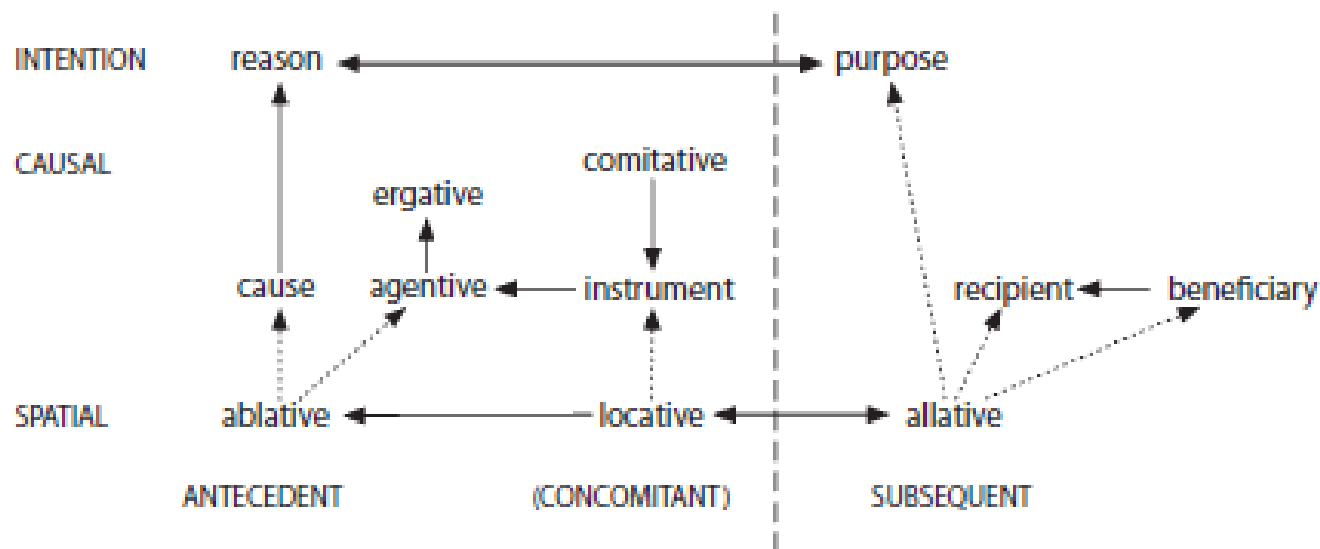
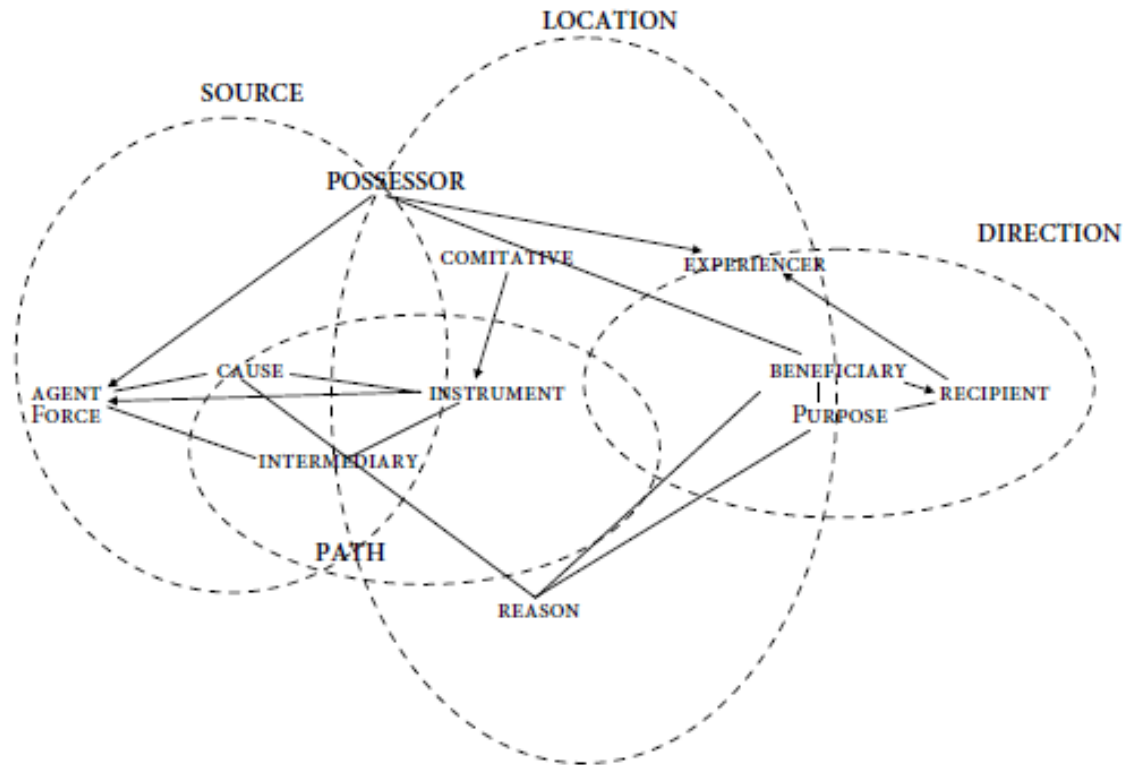


FIGURE 6.2. A tentative conceptual space for participant roles.

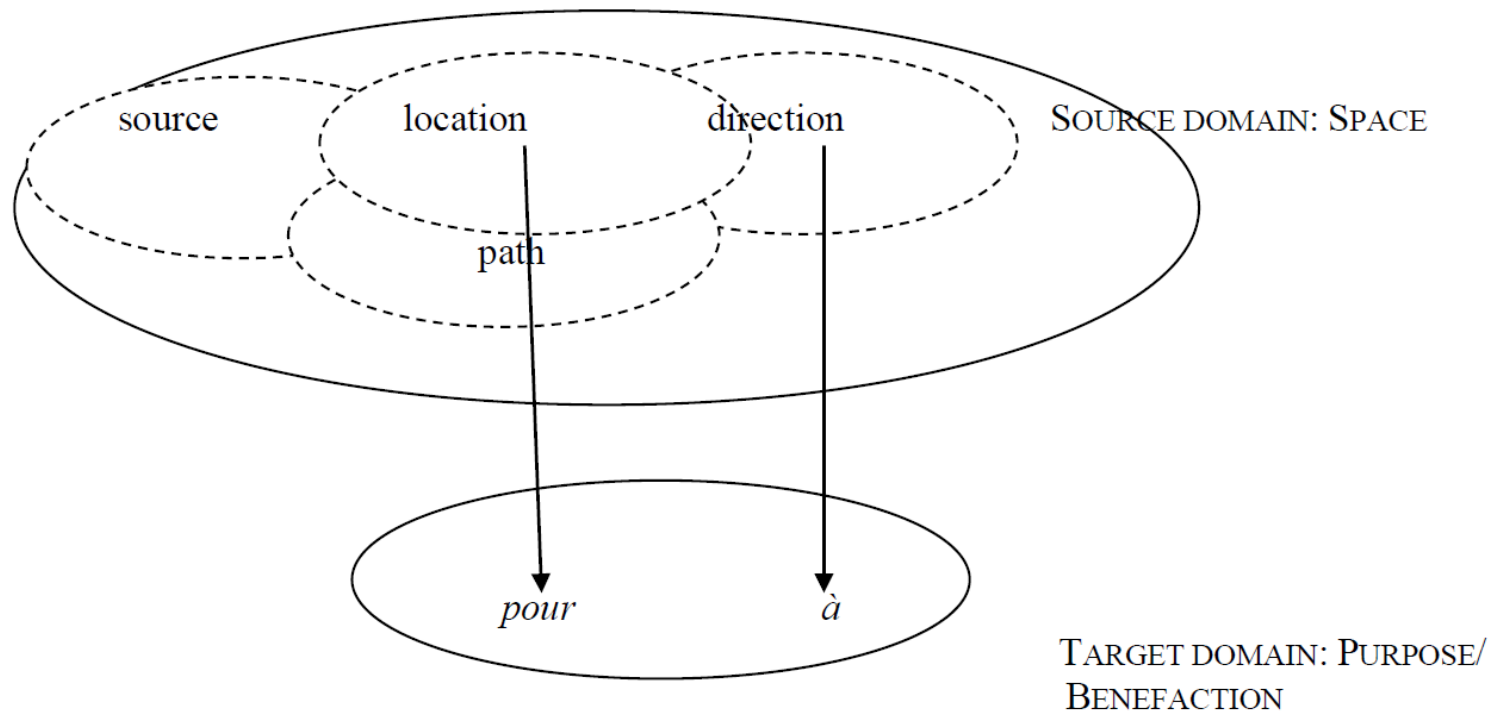
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Figure 9. (Luraghi 2014: 142)





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Laz, Kartvelian (Lacroix 2009, 2010)

1      *ma*    *da-tkvani*                      *seni*    *ti-čkimi*                      *go-b-o-ndin-am*  
1s    sister-POSS2PL                      for    head-POSS1SG                      PV-1l-VAL1-lose-STH

‘I am ready to die for your sister.’

2      *malte-pe-se*                      *id-u*                      *daçxui*                      *seni*  
neighbor-PL-ALL                      go-AOR.I3SG    fire                      for

‘She goes to her neighbor to get fire.’ (K’72.144)

3      *Arslan-epe*    *k’ala-na*                      *i-rd-u*                      *šen*    *arslani-š*                      *skiri*  
lion-PL                      with-SBJV                      MID-grow-AOR.I3SG    for    lion-GEN                      son

*ko-gy-o-d-u-doren.*

PV-PV-TR-name-AOR.I3SG-EVD

‘Since he had grown up with lions, he named him “Lion’s son”.’ (Dum67.I.101)

4      *Ažliya-s*                      *me-p-č-am-t*                      *ar*    *vedre*                      *ck’ari šeni.*  
dragon-DAT    PV-1l-give-THS-PL                      one    bucket                      water for

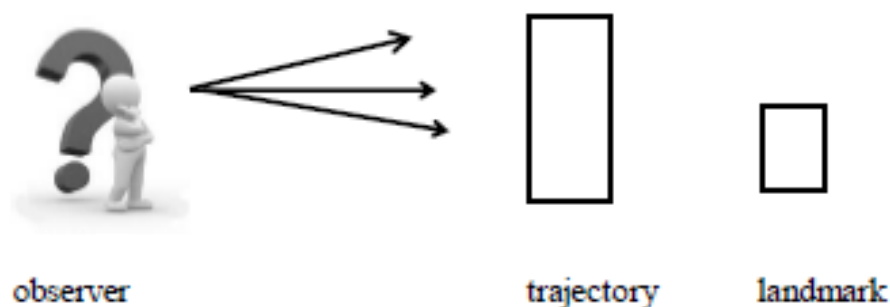
‘We give him to the dragon in exchange for one bucket of water.’

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Andrason (2016: 2) the meanings are connected because they arise due to human cognitive mechanisms, being derived by means of metaphor, image-schema process, metonymy, analogy or abduction. ... On the other hand, they constitute a temporally sequential chain of predecessor and successors.

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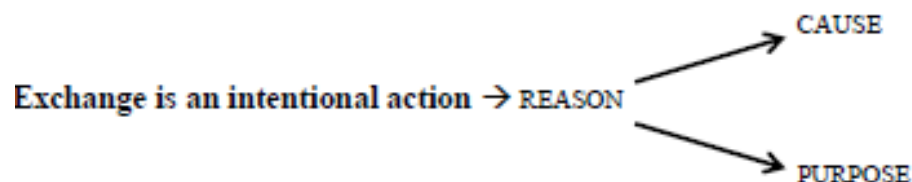
Covering relation and the notion of exchange



‘Behalf’ of ‘surrogate’ beneficiary:

X acts in the place of / in exchange for Y

## From Exchange to Purpose and Cause



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## Where does the directional meaning of *for* come from?

- a. \*Mary set out/started/left to the store
- a. Mary set out/started/left for the store
- b. \*They departed to France
- b. They departed for France
- c. \*They set sail/out to Nova Scotia
- c. They set sail/out for Nova Scotia

Each of the verbs in these sentences relates to the beginning phase of a journey. As such, each is related to the intentional processes of selecting a particular destination, choosing a mode of travel and, presumably consciously, selecting a certain course. Hence, we suggest that due to the salience of intentional components associated with these meaning elements, *for* is acceptable, while *to* is not.

(Tyler & Evans 2003: 147)

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## Where does the directional meaning of *for* come from?

“We hypothesize that that intentionality is an important aspect of the functional element associated with *for* but not with *to*.” (Tyler & Evans 2003: 147)

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The diachronic data shows an unexpected semantic extension:

**purpose → allative**

➤ from an abstract domain to space

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Language contact situations → Extension  
through translation

Brugman (1988: 49)

“A metaphorical use of *over* arises with verbs of emotional response, its meaning being roughly ‘about’ or ‘as a response to.’ ... the place of this sense in my overall description is unclear.”

Origin of ‘cry over’

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*bənōwṭ yisrā'ēl, 'el-šā'ūl bəḵenāh.*

daughters Israel to-Saul cry

*thugatéres Israēl, epì Saoul klaúsate*

filiae Israhel **super** Saul flete

‘Ye daughters of Israel, weep **over** Saul.’ (2 Samuel 1.24)

*wayyōsipū kāl hā'ām libkōwṭ 'ālāw.*

and-again all the-people cried over-him

omnis populus flevit **super** eum

‘And all the people wept again **over** him.’ (2 Samuel 3.34)

*idōñ tēñ pólin éklausen ep' autēñ*

*videns civitatem flevit **super** illam*

‘He beheld the city, and wept **over** it’ (Luke 19.41)



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Over with verbs of rejoicing

Bosworth/Toller

- denoting the cause of an emotion, over (as in to rejoice over, etc.)

*Byþ on heofone blis be ánum synfullun ðe dædbóte dēþ, má ðonne ofer nigon and nigontigum rihtwísra, Lk. 15, 7.*

*Ic blissige ofer ðínre spræce, Ps. Th. 118, 162*

*dico vobis quod ita gaudium erit in caelo super uno peccatore paenitentiam habente quam super nonaginta novem iustis qui non indigent paenitentia*

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## In the name of X

Biblical Hebrew *bišem*

Septuagint / New Testament Greek *epì / en toi onómati*

Vulgate *in nomine*

Bosworth/Toller

of representative character, *in the name of*

*In Crístes noman ... and in páre hálgan róde naman* (Homilies)

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LACK OF CONNECTEDNESS BETWEEN THE MEANINGS OF A GIVEN  
LINGUISTIC FORMS IN SYNCHRONY → MEANINGS DERIVING  
FROM A COMMON “ANCESTOR”

## The dative case in Classical Greek

Semantic roles:

- Recipient
- Beneficiary
- Addressee
- Experiencer
- Possessor
- **Instrument**

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Figure 8. (Croft 280)

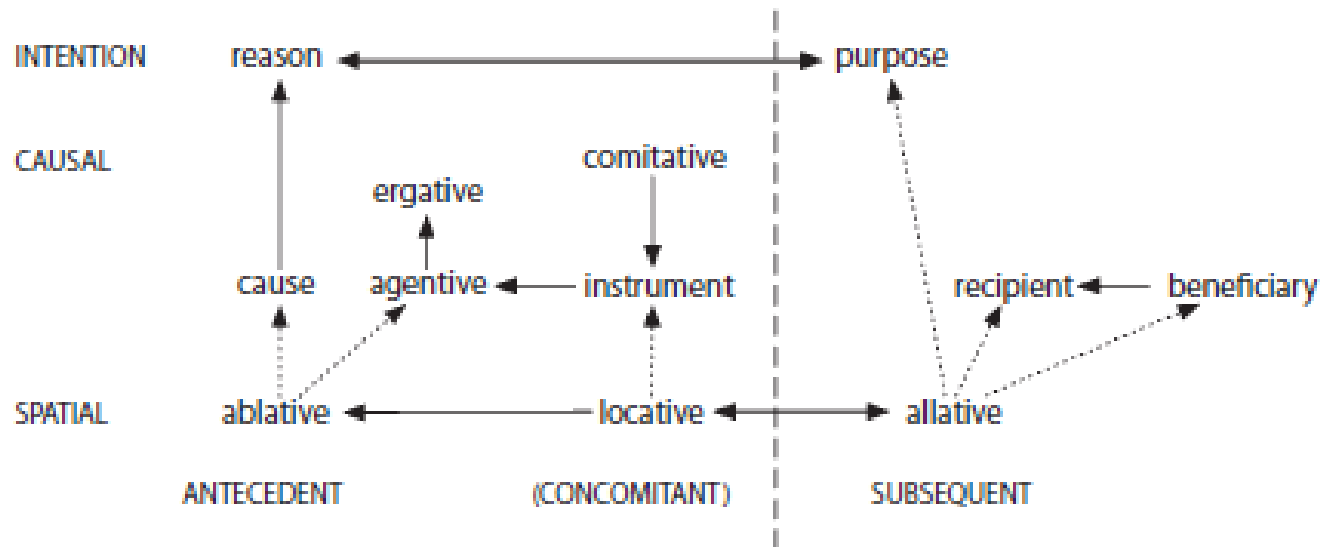
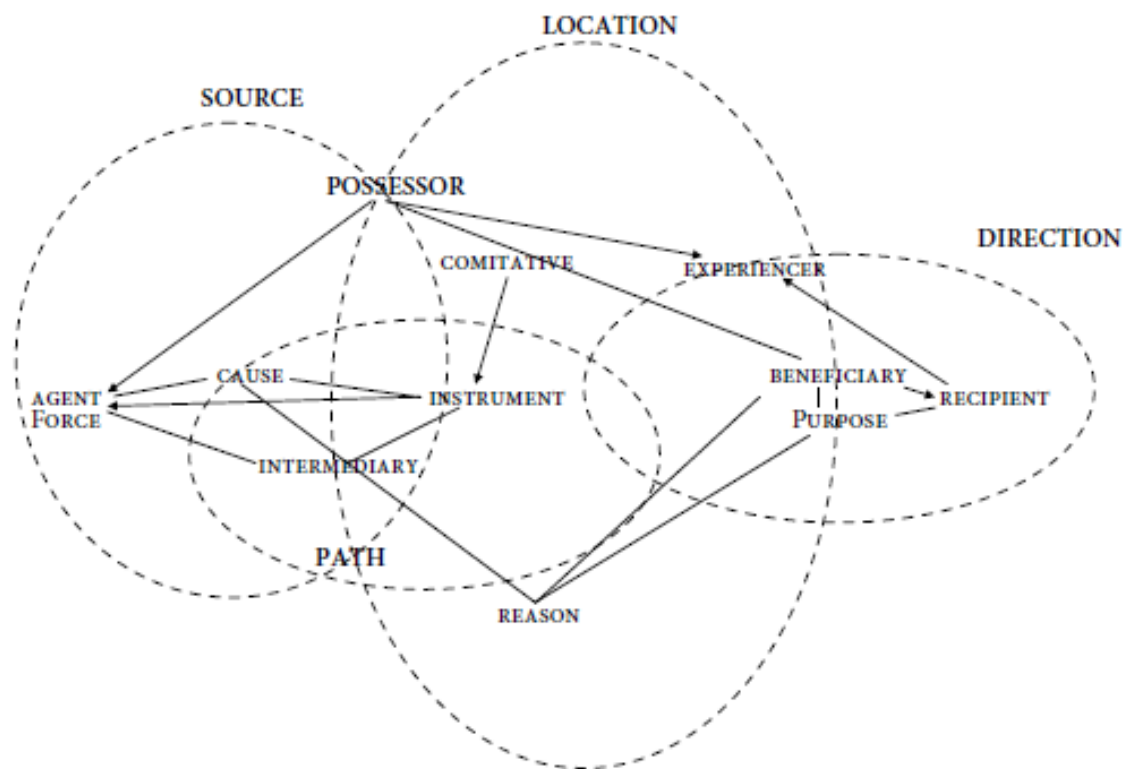


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Figure 9. (Luraghi 2014: 142)



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*humîn gráphō hóti ...*

2PL.DAT write:PRS.1SG that

“I write you that ...” (Th. 7.14.1);

*hupográpsantes grammàs têi graphídi*

write:PTCP.AOR.NOM.PL letter:ACC.PL.F ART.DAT.F pen:DAT.F

“having drawn lines with the pen” (Pl. Prt. 326d).

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Case syncretism and the Greek dative: IE dative + locative + instrumental

(A) MERGER OF THE DATIVE WITH THE LOCATIVE

(most likely pre-Mycenaean)

*patér*      *d' emòs*      *Árgei*      *násthē*

father:NOM PTC POSS.1SG.NOM A.:DAT abide:AOR.3SG

“my father lived in Argos” (Il. 14.119)

(B) MERGER OF THE DATIVE/LOCATIVE WITH THE INSTRUMENTAL

(post-Mycenaean)

**The container schema:**

Functional analysis for ‘in’: a container exerts dynamic control over its content (Vandeloise 1994)

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space mapped onto causation/agency

**dynamic control** → **exploitation**



container

instrument

*Néstōr d' en kheíressi láb' hēnía sigalóenta*

N.:NOM PTC in hand:DAT.PL.F take:AOR.3SG rein:N/A.PL shining:N/A.PL

“Nestor took in his hands the shining reins” (Il. 8.116)

*ho dé khermádion lábe kheirí*

DEM.NOM PTC stone:N/A take:AOR.3SG hand:DAT.F

“(Aeneas) grasped a stone in his hand” (Il. 20.285)

*tòn mèn egō mála pollà ... ophthalmôisin ópōpa*

DEM.ACC PTC 1SG.NOM very many:N/A.PL eye:DAT.PL see:PF.1SG

“several times I have seen him with my eyes” (Il. 24.391-392)



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*epeì ou̯ pō tlēsom' en ophthalmōisin horâsthai*

since NEG PTC bear:FUT.MID.1SG in eye:DAT.PL see:INF.PRS.M/P

*marnámenon phílon huiòn ... Meneláōi*

fight:PART.PRS.ACC dear:ACC son:ACC M.:DAT

“since I can in no way bear to behold with my eyes my dear son doing battle with Menelaus” (Il. 3.306)

*eis Áidos d' ou̯ pō̃ tis aphíketo nēĩ melaínēĩ*

to Hades:GEN PTC NEG PTC INDEF.NOM come:AOR.M/P.3SG ship:DAT.F black:DAT.F

“no man ever reached Hades by means of a black ship” (Od. 10.502).

*Argeîoi d' en nēusi phílēn es patríd' ébēsan*

Argive:NOM.PL PTC in ship:DAT.PL.F their:ACC.F to homeland:ACC.F go:AOR.3PL

“the Argives had gone back in their ships to their native land” (Il. 12.16)

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Biblical Hebrew – preposition **b-**

*Dawid maslip 'et-suso ba-ssot*

David whip:3SG his-horse:ACC with whip

“David whips his horse with a whip”

*'ayil 'ehad ne'ehaz ba-ssbak be-qarnaw*

ram one entangled in-bush with-its-horn

“a ram entangled in the bush by its horns”.

Finnish – adessive case

*kupit ovat pöydällä*

cup:NOM-PL be:3PL table:ADESS

“the cups are on the table”;

*hän kirjoittaa kynällä*

he write:3SG pen:ADESS

“he writes with a pen”.

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It is apparent that several of these means of locomotion are conceptualized as a location rather than as an instrument. (Lehmann, Shin 2005: 47)

Some instruments are shaped as containers, and other as means of support: this fact accounts for the extension of different locative markers to instrument, based on various transfers and extensions. (Luraghi 2014)

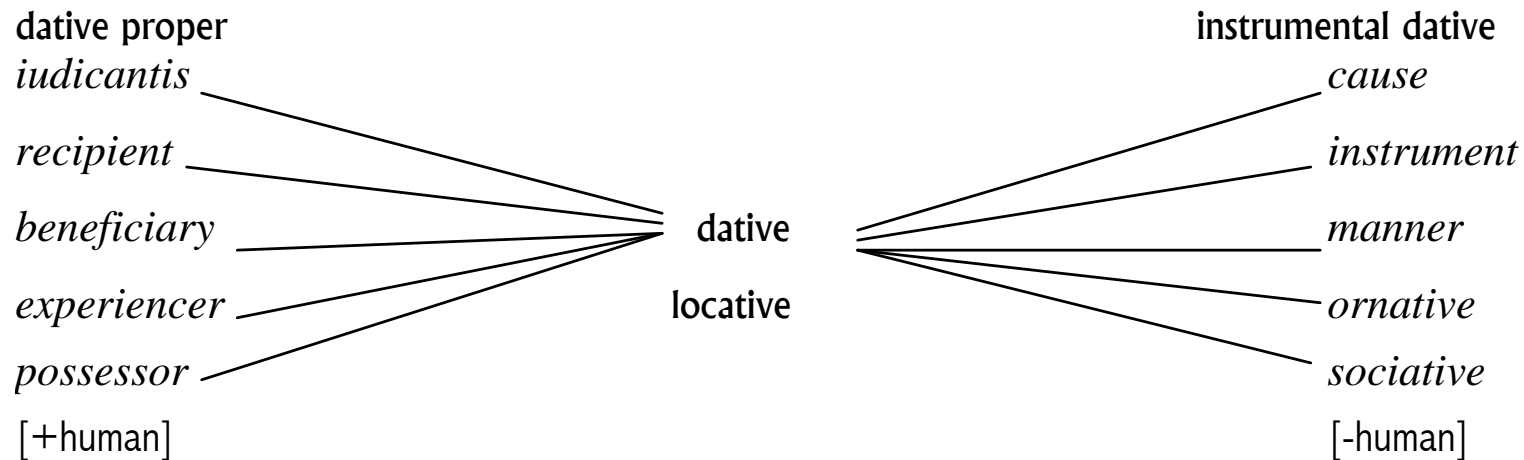
Analogy:

- some containers/supports are instruments → all instruments are encoded as instantiating a containment/support relation.
- extraction of a schema (see Langacker 1987) whereby certain types of instrument have certain spatial dimensions (container, support) - analogical extension of this schema to all types of instrument

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FIGURE 4. THE DATIVE AS A RADIAL CATEGORY IN HOMERIC GREEK

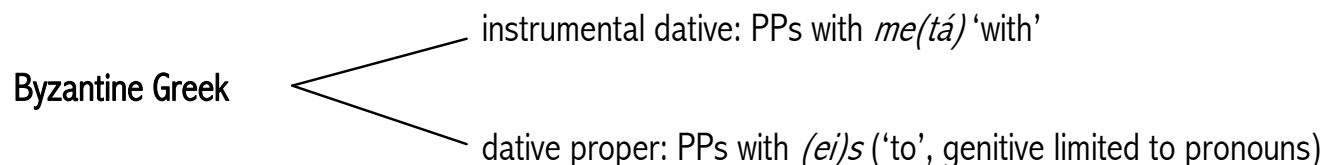


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**Classical Greek:** locative only *en*+dative → **center of the category disappears**

## Polysemy or homonymy?

- ✓ diachronic change keeps the two groups of meanings distinct:



New metaphors:

- ✓ INSTRUMENT: *me* 'with' < *metá* 'together with' extends to instrument through the Companion metaphors (cf. Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 135) "An instrument is a companion" → an instrument accompanies an acting agent
- ✓ DATIVE: extension from direction to beneficiary and recipient → "A beneficiary/recipient is the endpoint of a trajectory"

**NO overlap!**

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## Why are meanings dropped?

### 1. Ablative and locative

PATTERN OF SYNCRETISM FOR THE LEXICALIZATION OF LOCATION, GOAL, AND SOURCE  
(Pantcheva 2010)

	Blake (1977)	Noonan (2009)	Pantcheva (2010)
L≠G≠S	91% (77/85)	33% (25/76)	53% (28/53)
L=G≠S	9% (8/85)	58% (44/76)	34% (18/53)
L=G=S	0% (0/85)	4% (3/76)	13% (7/53)
L=S≠G	0% (0/85)	2,5% (2/76)	0% (0/53)
L≠G=S	0% (0/85)	2,5% (2/76)	0% (0/53)

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## Ablative – Locative transfers

### French place adverbs

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devant	‘before’	< de + avant
dehors	‘outside’	< de + hors
dessus	‘above’	< de + sus
dessous	‘underneath’	< de + sous
deçà	‘on this side’	< de + ça
delà	‘on that side’	< de + là

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*Il est/va dehors* vs. *Il vient de dehors*  
he is/goes outside      he comes from outside  
‘He is/goes outside.’/ ‘He comes from outside.’

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## Spanish

<i>donde</i> ‘where’	<	<i>de-unde</i> ‘from-whence’ (Vulgar Latin)
<i>dentro</i> ‘inside’	<	<i>de intro</i> ‘from inside’ (Vulgar Latin)
<i>debajo</i> ‘underneath’	<	<i>de basso</i> ‘from low’ (Vulgar Latin)
<i>delante</i> ‘in front’	<	<i>de in-ante</i> ‘from in-before’ (Vulgar Latin)

## Italian

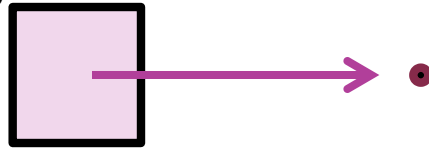
<i>disotto</i> ‘underneath’	<	<i>de subtus</i> ‘from underneath’ (Vulgar Latin)
<i>davanti</i> ‘in front’	<	<i>de ab-ante</i> ‘from from-before’ (Vulgar Latin)
<i>dinanzi</i> ‘in front’	<	<i>de in-antea</i> ‘from in-before’ (Vulgar Latin)
<i>dietro</i> ‘behind’	<	<i>de retro</i> ‘from behind’ (Vulgar Latin)



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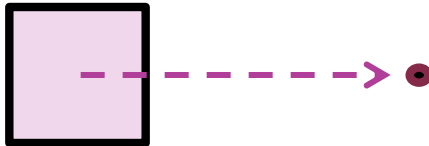
Source:

A TR moves away from a LM



Fictive motion (cf. Talmy 2000)

→ in expressions such as *to be far from* a location is referred to in terms of the trajectory that would lead from it to a reference point, if the trajector moved



→ Ablative-locative transfer: the ablative marker indicates a location removed from the LM



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Cf. Latin:

- a. adverbs in *-tus*: *intus* ‘inside’, *subtus* ‘below’  
(cf. *caelitus* ‘from heaven’)
- b. adverbs in *-ā* (from the ablative adjectives  
modifying *parte* ‘part’ or *viā* ‘way’):  
*intrā* ‘inside’ (< *\*interā parte*), *suprā* ‘above’  
(< *\*superā parte*)
- c. adverbs in *dē-* (ablative prefix): *dēsuper*  
‘(from) above’, *dēsub* ‘(from) below’

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## Old High German place adverbs (Mackenzie 1978)

	Loc	All	Abl
THERE HERE WHERE	dâr hiar hwâr	dara <i>or</i> darôt hera <i>or</i> herôt hwara <i>or</i> hwarôt	dannana hinana wannana
INSIDE OUTSIDE ABOVE BELOW IN FRONT BEHIND EAST WEST NORTH SOUTH HOME	inne ûze obe nidare fore <i>or</i> forn *hindare ôstert westerhalb nordert sundert heime	în ûz *ob nidar forn *hindar ôstar westar *nordar sundar heim	innana ûzana obana nidana forna hindana ôstana westana nordana sundana heimana

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## Modern HighGerman

	Loc	All	Abl
THERE  HERE  WHERE	{ dort da } hier wo	{ dort da } hin hierhin wohin	{ dort da } her hierher woher
INSIDE OUTSIDE ABOVE BELOW IN FRONT BEHIND EAST WEST NORTH SOUTH HOME	innen aussen oben unten vorn hinten im Osten im Westen im Norden im Süden { daheim zu Hause }	nach innen nach aussen nach oben nach unten nach vorn nach hinten nach Osten nach Westen nach Norden nach Süden { heim nach Hause }	von innen von aussen von oben von unten von vorn von hinten von Osten von Westen von Norden von Süden von zu Hause

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Modern Hebrew

Ablative preposition: *mi-*

Ha-ojev hitkarev mi-smol.  
the-enemy approached from-left  
'The enemy approached from the left'  
Hu hegi'ax mi-taxat ha-šulxan  
he emerged from-under the-table  
'He emerged from under the table'  
Ha-zvuv af mi-ha-šulxan  
the-fly flew from-the-table  
'The fly flew off the table'.

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Modern Hebrew

Local adverbs:

Locative: zero-marking

Allative: *-a*

Ablative: *mi-*

*Al* ‘on’ *me-al* < *mi+al* ‘over, above’ (NOT: ‘from above’)

*Ha-zvuv nimtsa al ha-šulxan*  
the-fly is-situated on the-table

‘The fly is on the table’

*Ha-zvuv nimtsa me-al ha-šulxan*  
the-fly is-situated from-on the-table  
‘The fly is above the table’.

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Fijan

Locative: *e*      (*e na vale*      ‘in the house’)

Allative: *ki*      (*ki na vale*      ‘to the house’)

Ablative: *mai*      (*mai na vale*      ‘from the house’)

Where the nominal following the particle is used to refer to an entity distant from the speaker, locative is realized as *mai*, so that *mai vale* may be interpreted either as ‘from home’ or, if the speaker is himself away from home, as ‘at home’.

Ko ā kunea maivei?

did you find whence

‘Where did you find it?’ (Likelihood: somewhere far off)

Erau sã lako maivei?

they have come from-where

‘Where have they come from?’

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Sonsorol-Tobian (Micronesian)

Locative: *ni*

Allative:  $\emptyset$

Ablative: *me* or *ifi* (*ri*)

## Human landmarks:

I bwē sōje me iōlom i da ra ifi ri neirai

I purposive-marker go from with-you I consecutive-marker go from of  
mother

‘I will go from you to my mother’.



# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Summary

- Syncretism of locative and allative → happens in diachrony and is ok in synchrony
- Syncretism of locative and ablative → happens in diachrony but is avoided in synchrony



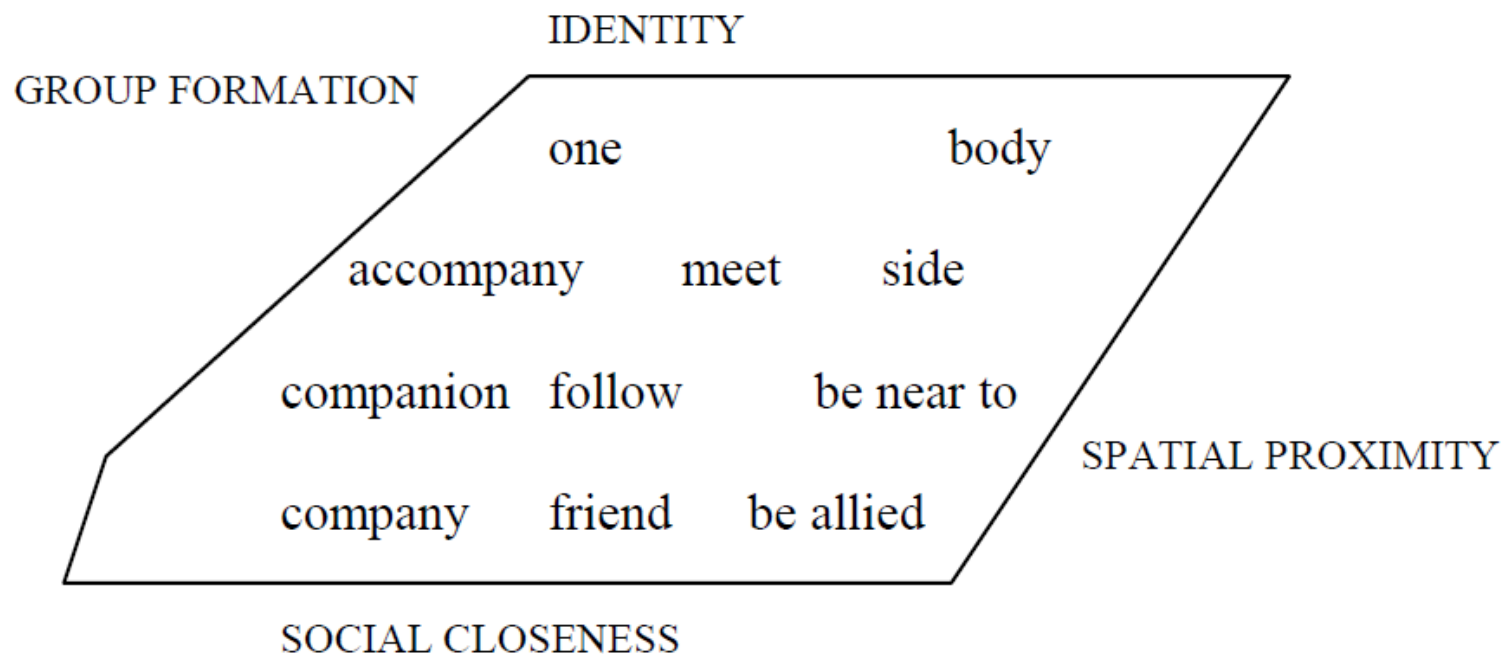
WHY?

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Why are meanings dropped?

## 2. Locative and comitative

(D6) Neighbourhood relations of source concepts



# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

- Lesgian: Haspelmath (1993: 225–226): two postpositions which are used to express Comitativity in Lesgian are grammaticalized converbal forms of locative copulas: *galaz* ‘with’ < *gala* ‘to be behind something’ and *gwaz* ‘with’ < *gwa* ‘to be at’.
- Romance: Stroh (1998) Romance languages (French, Catalan, Gascon, Provençal, etc.) comitatives derive from Latin human locatives *apud*, *ab hoc*, only later integrating Instrumentality in their functional domain.
- Germanic languages: English *with*, from O.E. *wið* ‘against, opposite to’ and German *mit*, from Proto-Germanic *\*medi-*, cognate of English *middle* (Luraghi 2014)
- Greek: Greek *me*, from Ancient Greek *metá*, original meaning ‘among’ limited to human landmarks then Comitative (Classical Greek) and later (Middle Greek) extending to Instrument (see Luraghi 2001b and 2005c on this development)

➔ **SPATIAL MEANING LOST!**

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Four parameters determine the choice of the concept which serves as a source of the grammaticalised item: Identity (= companion and accompanee are conceptualised as being one), group (= companion and accompanee are conceptualised as forming a higher level unit composed of two independent entities), social closeness (= companion and accompanee are conceptualised as being in a relation of mutual trust and friendship) and, last but not least, **spatial proximity (= companion and accompanee are conceptualised as occupying contiguous sub-regions in space)**. All this boils down to **relative closeness of the two participants** – ranging from extreme closeness (=identity) to abstract closeness (= be allies). (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2006: 361)

## Stages for the extension from locative to comitative:

(generic locative ---> specialized human locative --->) comitative

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human beings are not good landmarks of spatial relations, as they are highly mobile entities → location with respect to a human landmark often really indicates location in his/her habitual space, CF. French chez ‘at’ (only with human landmarks):

- (1) Je suis chez mon frère (mais il n’est pas là).  
I am at my brother but he not is not there  
“I am at my brother’s (place), but he’s not there.”

Compare an inanimate landmark:

- (2) Je suis à la gare (\*mais elle [=la gare] n’est pas là).  
I am at the station but she [the station] not is not there  
“I am at the station (\*but it’s not there).”

On the other hand, comitative generally indicates that the accompanee is present:

- (3) Je suis avec mon frère (\*mais il n’est pas là).  
I am with my brother (\*but he not is not there)  
“I am at with brother (\*but he’s not there).”

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Further extension of comitative

Stolz (2001) comitatives tend to be re-interpreted as marking the possessum → being with something equals to possessing something. (Examples from Stolz 2001):

- (1) *Hamisi a-na kitabu*  
Hamisi 3SG-with book  
“Hamsa has a book.”
- (2) *e sentouse porque estava com medo*  
and sit:PRET.3SG+REFL because be:IMPF.3SG with fear  
“And he sat down because he was afraid.”

This type of extension follows quite naturally from the assumption that possessor and possessee need to be in close spatial proximity: if possession implies spatial proximity, then it can also be the case that spatial proximity indicates possession (Heine 1990).

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## **Other infrequent syncretisms involving human participants**

### Passive agent + Comitative

- Comitative + Instrumental ok
- Instrumental + Passive agent ok

### Comitative + Recipient/Beneficiary

- Locative + Instrumental ok
- Comitative + Instrumental ok
- Locative + Recipient/Beneficiary ok

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Other infrequent syncretisms involving human participants

Why?

- Agent, Comitative, Recipient/Beneficiary: common feature → human
- Human participants are more versatile than inanimate participants and ask for more fine grained distinctions

- (1) *That book has been written by a friend of mine*
- (2) *That book has been written with a friend of mine*
- (3) *I bought a book for Mary*
- (4) *I bought a book with Mary*



# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

“Classical semantic maps can also integrate information about the frequency of polysemy patterns. As stressed by Cysouw (2007, p. 232), in traditional semantic maps, “the boundary between attested and unattested is given a very high prominence,” since the unique attestation of a polysemy pattern will be represented on the map exactly as a very common one, namely, with a simple edge between two nodes (see further Croft & Poole, 2008).” (Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018)

distance based maps are not implicational and cannot be used to constraint the data (Malchukov, 2010: 177).

MDS method has been criticized because it cannot take into account diachronic information, if available (Narrog, 2010; van der Auwera, 2008, 2013).

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

We also find that all languages have substantial transitional areas between these three domains, and that the Source domain is no exception: in the maps, the Source domain blends seamlessly into the Location and Goal domains. But the overlap between Goal and Location is greater, so the findings support general typological observations. ... We found that there is substantial interaction between the Source and Location domains, especially when a notion of proximity is involved. Hence, our investigation does not support the previous claims that the Source domain in Indo-European languages is clearly separated from the other two basic spatial domains. This finding may partially relate to a difference in methodology: the data-driven, statistical approach in this paper is inherently more likely to find gradient patterns than the classical approach to semantic maps, which tends to maximize differences. (Eckhoff, Thomason & de Swart 2013: 349)

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Greek (Mark 12:36)

*kathou ek dexiōn mou*

sit.PRS.IMP.2SG from right.N.GEN.PL 1SG.PN.GEN

Gothic

*sit af taihswon meinai*

sit.IMP.2SG from right.F.DAT.SG my.F.DAT.SG

‘sit at my right hand!’

Greek (Luke 10:7)

*en autēi de tēi oikiai menete,*

in DEM.F.DAT.SG but the house.F.DAT.SG stay.PRS.IMP.2PL

*esthontes kai pinontes ta*

eat.PRS.PTCP.M.NOM.PL and drink.PRS.PTCP.M.NOM.PL the.N.ACC.SG

*par’ autōn*

from 3PL.PN.GEN.PL

‘remain in that house, eating and drinking what they have’

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Connection between Source and Location according to the authors

Latin

*in eadem          autem domo          manete          edentes*  
in DEM.F.ABL.SG but    house.ABL.SG stay.IMP.2PL eat.PRS.PTCP.M.NOM.PL  
*et   bibentes                          quae                          apud illos*  
and drink.PRS.PTCP.M.NOM.PL which.F.NOM.PL near   them.M.ACC.PL  
*sunt*  
be.PRS.3PL

Old Church Slavic

*vъ tomъ                  že    domu                  přebyvajte    ědōšte*  
in DEM.M.LOC.SG PTCL house.LOC.SG stay.IMP.2PL eat.PRS.PTCP.M.NOM.PL  
*i   pijōšte                          ěže                          sqtъ                  u    nixъ*  
and drink.PRS.PTCP.M.NOM.PL which.N.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL near 3PL.PN.GEN  
‘remain in that house, eating and drinking what they have’

BUT Possible error in Greek → *tà par’autoîs* does in fact mean „their possessions”  
(Luraghi 2003: 140) in cases in which the condition of spatial proximity also holds

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Inverted function of preposition and verbal prefix rather than  
contact of Source with Location

Greek (Matthew 8:34)

*hopōs metabēi*                      *apo tōn oriōn*                      *autōn*  
so.that go.over.AOR.SBJV.3SG from the region.GEN.PL 3PL.PN.GEN

Gothic

*ei usliþi*                      *hindar markos*                      *ize*  
so.that go.out.PST.OPT.3SG beyond region.ACC.PL 3PL.PN.GEN  
'so that he should go away from (Goth: beyond) their region'

Greek: verbal prefix *meta-* 'beyond'; preposition *apó* 'from'

Gothic: verbal prefix *us-* 'from'; preposition *hindar* 'beyond'

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Different construal

Greek (John 12:36)

*ekrubē*                      *ap' autōn*

hide.AOR.PASS.3SG from 3PL.PN.GEN

Gothic

*gafalh*              *sik*              *faura im*

hide.PST.3SG self.ACC.SG before 3PL.PN.M.DAT

‘he hid from (Goth: before) them’

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## From ablative to locative – Latin to Italian

*quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi hostes sunt, quia ab  
although withdrew rather than pushed enemies are because from  
tergo erant clivi, in quos ... tutus receptus fuit.*

back were mountains in which safe shelter was

“but the enemies withdrew, rather than be pushed away, because  
behind them were hills, which offered a safe shelter” Liv. 2.65.2;

*tunc crucifixi sunt cum eo duo latrones unus a dextris et  
then crucified are with him two robbers one from right and  
unus a sinistris*

one from left

“then there were two robbers crucified with him, one on his right hand  
and one on the left”. Matth. 27.38.



# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Medieval Latin:

<i>dab</i>	<i>uno latere fine terra Teutoni</i>	<i>dab alio</i>
<i>latere</i>		

from ( <i>de+ab</i> )	one side territory Germans	from other
side		

<i>terra</i>	<i>Sancti Petri</i>
territory	Saint Peter

“on one side the territory of the Germans, on the the other side the territory of the Pope” *Cartulario Eccl. Terami* 9th-12th century.

- ◉ nouns: *parte, latere, caput, pede, sera, meridie, occasum, oriente*, occasional proper names
- ◉ verbs: *esse, stare., habere*



# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Early Italian (13th-15th century):

a) location

*da poppa stava il celestial nocchiero*

from stern stood the heavenly helmsman

“the heavenly helmsman stood on the stern” (Dante, *Purg.* 2.43)

- adverbial locutions *di sotto da, di sopra da, davanti da, dinanzi da, dentro da, intorno da* (Mod. Italian mostly *a*)
- *by, nearby* with urban landmarks (churches, official buildings, etc.)
- sporadically: *by* with animate nouns or pronouns

*ma loro arme e lor cavalli lassaro dai pagani*

but their weapons and their horses they left from+the pagans

“they left their weapons and their horses by the pagans” (Ritmo lucchese, 1213)

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

*non muove la questione **appo coloro** che si conviene*  
not moves the matter by those that is.appropriate  
“he does not raise the matter with the appropriate people” (Rett.  
63.17)

*andati **a lui** gli dissono ciò che era seguito*  
gone to him him told that which was followed  
“having gone to him, they told him what followed” (Trec. 481.134)  
direction (infrequent)

*io ... vi menerò da lei*  
I you will.take from her  
“I will take you to her” (Boccaccio Dec. 2.10)

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Italian da:

- Source (inanimate LMs)
- Path with verbs that incorporate path, all types of LM: ***passare da casa*** ‘pass by home’,  
*sono **passata** da mia madre*  
“I passed by my mother’s place’
- Direction/location with inanimate LMs that indicate sides:  
*si trovano / vanno da quella **parte***  
‘they are on that side / are going in that direction’
- Direction/location (human LMs)

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

## Unresolvable ambiguity:

- Location and agent with human landmarks

*La carne è stata comprata dal macellaio*

the meat is been bought DA butcher

‘The meat has been bought BY the butcher / AT the butcher’s’

*L’auto è stata lavata dal benzinaio*

the car is been washed DA gas.station.worker

‘The car has been washed BY the gas station worker / AT the gas station’

## Impossible prepositional encoding:

- Source with human landmars

*Vengo / vado dal macellaio, dal benzinaio*

I.come I.go DA butcher DA gas.station.worker

→ Only possible interpretation: goal

# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

Thank you for your attention!



# INCORPORATING DIACHRONIC INFORMATION IN SEMANTIC MAPS

References available upon request